Scottish Church History in the Nineteenth Century: A Select Critical Bibliography

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General Guides:

Students of church history are well aware of the need to read beyond the narrow confines of ecclesiastical structures and this is particularly so in a period where the line between what is purely ecclesiastical and what is "other" history becomes very blurred. Scotland was profoundly transformed in the nineteenth century as social and economic forces made sweeping alterations to its ancient political and institutional structures. What emerged as a result was virtually a new society. So, to make sense of its religious developments the wider political and economic trends in Scottish society at this time also need to be appreciated. In addition, there has been a vast expansion over the last thirty years in the number of books and articles dealing with this period in Scottish history so that as a consequence the bibliographical picture is changing and developing all the time. Thus, general guides like the *Bibliography of British History 1851-1914*, ed. H. J. Hanham (Oxford, 1976) and the *Bibliography of British History 1789-1851*, edd. L. M. Brown and I. R. Christie (Oxford, 1977), the various *Writings on British History* compiled by A. T. Milne and others (London, 1937 to date) for the Royal Historical Society and then for the Institute of Historical Research, or the bibliographical surveys contained in recent general text-books on Scottish History such as those by W. Ferguson, Drummond and Bulloch, *et al.*, which are cited hereafter, must be supplemented by the sort of up-to-date guidance as to what is currently available given by compilations like the National Library of Scotland's annual *Bibliography of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1977 to date). Essential, too, is the "List of Articles on Scottish History" issued in each October number of the *Scottish Historical Review* [SHR], and the similar trawl compiled each year by the new journal, *Scottish Economic and Social History* [SESH]. The other major finding aids are *The British Humanities Index* (London, 1962 to date) and *Historical Abstracts* (New York, 1955 to date). As well as the usual entries in the latter like "Religion", "Churches", try the General Subject index at the end, too, since items relevant to church history are often to be found there. For an idea of the range of bibliographies dealing with ecclesiastical history see *Religious Bibliographies in serial literature: a guide* (London, 1981) compiled by M. J. Walsh. Older works like *A*

Contribution to the Bibliography of Scottish Topography, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1917) (Scottish History Society, second series) by A. Mitchell and C. G. Cash and its follow-up, *A Bibliography of Works Relating to Scotland 1916-1950*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1959, 1960) by P. D. Hancock are still needed especially for local history. A new journal which has appeared annually since 1983, *Scottish Local History*, will clearly add to this field. There are useful indexes, arranged by chronological period, of articles that have appeared in the *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* [*RSCHS*] in its vols. xii (1958), xviii (1974) and xxi (1983). Something similar covering the years 1950-1969 was compiled for the *Innes Review* [*IR*]. The Historical Association's *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature* is necessarily selective but is up to date and as a publication of many years' standing is useful for indicating current historiographical trends. In a similar category comes the Royal Historical Society's *Annual Bibliography of British and Irish History* (London, 1975 to date). E. G. Grant, *Scotland* (Oxford, 1982), part of the World Bibliographical Series, gives some idea of the importance of Scotland within Britain in its survey of books published since 1960 but is by now inevitably a little dated. So is J. L. Altholz, *Victorian England 1837-1900* (Cambridge, 1970) but as a bibliographical guide is wider in scope than its title suggests particularly as it pays attention to the intellectual currents of the age which tended to transcend boundaries. *The Wellesley Index to Victorian periodicals 1823-1900*, 4 vols. (Toronto and London, 1966-1987), edd. W. E. Houghton and others is worth remembering when trying to find out what Scotsmen were writing and reading about in the nineteenth century. An earlier survey of historiographical trends is J. Kent, ''The Study of Modern Ecclesiastical History since 1930'' in *Historical Theology*, edd. J. Daniélou, A. H. Couratin, J. Kent (Harmondsworth, 1969), worth mentioning because it deals with issues which concerned Scots as well as other churchmen in Europe and America in the nineteenth century.

For individuals, recourse should be had in the first instance to *The Dictionary of National Biography* which can be supplemented by F. Boase, *Modern English Biography*, 6 vols. (Truro, 1892-1921). There are various editions of R. Chambers, *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (Glasgow, 1832, to London, 1875). Such compilations, like J. Irving's *Book of Eminent Scotsmen* (Paisley, 1881), though chattier sometimes note personalities missed by the weightier tomes. There are contemporary sketches specifically on mid-nineteenth-century Scottish clergy (mainly Presbyterian with a few Congregationalists) in *Our Scottish Clergy: Fifty-two Sketches Biographical, Theological, and Critical* (Edinburgh, 1848) ed. J. Smith, with a second series (Edinburgh, 1849) and a third series (Edinburgh,

1851). A brief modern *vade mecum* is G. Donaldson and R. S. Morpeth, *A Dictionary of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1977). Dictionaries like F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (2nd edn. London, 1974) are useful, as should be the forthcoming *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (being sponsored by Rutherford House with N. M. DeS. Cameron as general editor). Mention might be made here of the Historical Manuscripts Commission's recent Guides to Sources for British History no. 6, *Papers of British Churchmen 1780-1940* (London, 1987).

Finally, there are the various *Fasti*: for the Established Church, H. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, 10 vols. (Edinburgh, 1915-1981); for the other Presbyterian churches: W. Ewing, *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland 1843-1900*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1914), W. Mackelvie, *Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church* (Edinburgh, Glasgow, 1873) with its successor R. Small, *History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1904), J. A. Lamb, *The Fasti of the United Free Church of Scotland 1900-1929* (Edinburgh, 1956), D. Scott, *Annals and Statistics of the Original Secession Church* (Edinburgh, 1886) and W. J. Couper, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1925); for the Congregationalists H. Escott, *A History of Scottish Congregationalism* (Glasgow, 1960) is informative; for the Roman Catholics besides the annual *Catholic Directory for Scotland*, continuous from 1829 but with lists of clergy from 1831 (on which see the important article by D. McRoberts, ''The Catholic Directory for Scotland, 1829-1975'', *IR*, xxvi (1975)) there is now J. Darragh, *The Catholic Hierarchy of Scotland, a biographical list 1653-1985* (Glasgow, 1986), a handy interim stage to a fuller *fasti*. For the Episcopalians, information can be culled from the *Scottish Episcopal Church Directory and Year Book* (from 1878) or *Crockford's Clerical Directory* from 1858 or earlier from *The Edinburgh Almanack* (annually from 1790). Some useful background on denominational structures can be gleaned from the careful surveys in J. Highet, *The Churches in Scotland Today (a survey of their principles, strength, work and statements)* (Glasgow, 1950) and *The Scottish Churches, A review of their state 400 years after the Reformation* (London, 1960).

General Ecclesiastical, Political and Social Surveys of the Nineteenth Century:
Anyone trying to understand religion in nineteenth-century Scotland should begin with those textbooks which give a picture of the age as a whole and here, despite its length in the field, still the best for its coherence of outlook is W. Ferguson, *Scotland 1689 to the Present* (paperback edn. Edinburgh, 1978) to be read along with works equally sound as to context like R. H. Campbell, *Scotland*

since 1707, the Rise of an Industrial Society (2nd edn. Edinburgh, 1985). Both contain thoughtful guides as to what to read as does T. C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (London, 1969) and his A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950 (London, 1986) (although the latter work is more episodic in character). The overall religious picture should be approached first through the three volumes by A. L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, The Scottish Church 1688-1843 (Edinburgh, 1973), The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874 (Edinburgh, 1975) and The Church in late Victorian Scotland 1874-1900 (Edinburgh, 1978). These all have a breadth of outlook and analytical approach marking a new stage in Scottish ecclesiastical historiography. Although the last volume is rather more restricted than the others, taken together the set provides a stimulating, readable survey of the sweep of events with something of a tendency to stress the virtues of moderate men. The inclusion of the Disruption as the culmination of the first volume and the start of the second links the themes together tightly by showing how church issues were shaped by history and yet also helped to shape the history of their times. A. C. Cheyne, The Transforming of the Kirk, Victorian Scotland's Religious Revolution (Edinburgh, 1983) is another example of this recent, high-quality ecclesiastical history, especially good in analysing the links between institutional and theological changes in nineteenth-century Scotland. C. Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730 (London, 1987) is also innovative in its comparative and thematic approach; it covers a lot of ground in a short compass and, as such, it has its gaps but these are far outweighed by the insights thus provided. Like the others cited in this section, it is essential preliminary reading and a good counterweight to the too-ready tendency of some writers on Scotland in the last twenty years to dogmatize in this field. Among older general church histories J. H. S. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland (London, 1960) and J. R. Fleming, The Church in Scotland 1843-1929, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1927, 1933) have not yet been entirely superseded.

From the Start of the Century to the 1840s:
1. Intensive, if necessarily restricted, eye-witness accounts of the sort of society evolving in the early nineteenth century are available from the ministers in the New Statistical Account of Scotland, 15 vols. (Edinburgh, 1845) for the years 1834-1845 and these can be usefully compared with The (Old) Statistical Account of Scotland, 21 vols. (Edinburgh, 1791-99) reprinted now in county volumes under the general editorship of D. J. Withrington and I. R. Grant in 20 vols. (Wakefield, 1973-1983). The nature of this new society as traced in works like A. Slaven, The Development of the West of

Scotland 1750-1960 (London, 1975) or *Scottish Population History 1700-1939*, ed. M. W. Flinn (Cambridge, 1977) has to be balanced by an awareness of continuing regional diversity which is given due attention in B. Lenman, *An Economic History of Modern Scotland* (London, 1977) and in the still valuable L. J. Saunders, *Scottish Democracy 1815-1840* (Edinburgh, 1950). The period is currently being reassessed in *People and Society in Scotland* of which vol. 1 covering the years 1760-1830, edd. T. M. Devine and R. M. Mitchison (Edinburgh, 1988) reinforces the point that profound changes were occurring but as a process, not an overnight phenomenon. In this volume, D. J. Withrington, "Schooling, Literacy and Society", shows, for instance, that the institutional vitality of the education system with its strong church links remained more buoyant for longer into the nineteenth century than has hitherto been imagined. And C. Brown, "Religion and Social Change", also cautions in this volume against equating urbanisation and industrialisation too readily with inevitable religious alienation of the working classes. The latter view has tended to predominate through the powerful writing of A. A. McLaren, *Religion and Social Class. The Disruption Years in Aberdeen* (London and Edinburgh, 1974) until it began to be modified by further regional studies such as P. Hillis, "Presbyterianism and social class in mid-nineteenth-century Glasgow", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History [JEH]*, 32 (1981). D. J. Withrington, "Non-Church-Going, c. 1750- c. 1850: A Preliminary Study", *RSCHS*, xvii (1972) with a follow-up, "The 1851 Census of Religious Worship and Education", *RSCHS*, xviii (1974) had earlier hinted at the nuances here in the changing relationships between the population and ecclesiastical structures.

2. Voluntaryism's emergence has still to be traced from G. Struthers *The History of the Relief Church* (Glasgow, 1843) or J. McKerrow, *History of the Secession Church* (Glasgow, 1841). Something of its rising force in public life can be gauged in J. B. Mackie, *Life and Work of Duncan McLaren*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1888) and in D. Woodside, *The Soul of a Scottish Church, or the Contribution of the United Presbyterian Church to Scottish Life and Religion* (Edinburgh, ?1918). Early efforts to respond in the Established Church in an important field are examined in I. F. Maciver, "The Evangelical Party and the Eldership in General Assemblies, 1820-1843", *RSCHS*, xx (1978) while R. W. Vaudry, "The Constitutional Party in the Church of Scotland 1834-43", *SHR*, lxii (1983) deals with the opposing reaction. S. Mechie, *The Church and Scottish Social Development 1780-1870* (London, 1960) discerned a positive, if tardy ecclesiastical response to the pressures of the age but the essays in *Social Class in Scotland Past and Present*, ed. A. A. McLaren (Edinburgh, 1976) present a more critical view. A sense of the issues and personalities involved comes

over well in D. Keir, *The House of Collins* (London, 1952). C. G.
Brown, "The Sunday School Movement in Scotland 1780-1914",
RSCHS, xxi (1981) examines a major evangelical movement and
J. L. Duthie, "Philanthropy and Evangelism among Aberdeen
Seamen 1814-1924", *SHR*, xliii (1984) is a detailed local study. O.
Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1980)
lists the major fields of social endeavour influenced to some degree
by feelings of religious benevolence. It contains a wealth of
material but this whole field, in fact, needs more analysis and the
sort of reappraisal being given to it in other countries in studies like
L. W. Banner, "Religious Benevolence as Social Control: a critique
of an interpretation", *Journal of American History*, 60 (1973).
Important light is shed on these religious and cultural links by
J. V. Smith, "Manners, Morals and Mentalities: Reflections on the
popular Enlightenment of Early Nineteenth-Century Scotland", in
Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1980, edd. W. M.
Humes and H. S. Paterson (Edinburgh, 1983), a fascinating
critique of the strengths and weaknesses of Scottish thought and
the values it encouraged at this time. Indeed, anyone reading in this
field will eventually realise that here as elsewhere the eighteenth-
century Enlightenment continued to play an important rôle in
shaping attitudes and responses well on into the nineteenth century
in Scotland. Best for clear guidance here is D. J. Withrington,
"What was distinctive about the Scottish Enlightenment?" in
Aberdeen and the Enlightenment, edd. J. J. Carter and J. H. Pittock
(Aberdeen, 1987), which shows that desire for progress and
individual improvement was extremely widespread throughout all
levels of Scottish society because disseminated often through the
medium of religious pamphlets, sermons, etc. A. C. Chitnis, *The
Scottish Enlightenment and Early Victorian English Society*
(London, 1986) also shows the pervasiveness of the "Scotch
Feelosofy" and its influence in moulding public policy in the first
half of the nineteenth century. Some of the essays in *Wealth and
Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish
Enlightenment*, edd. I. Hont and M. Ignatieff (Cambridge, 1983)
show that while concern for the general good was never absent it
became a rather fragile concept faced with the forces of
competition in the nineteenth century; and B. Fontana, *Rethinking
the Politics of Commercial Society: The Edinburgh Review
1802-1832* (Cambridge, 1985) also portrays concern for social
balance and the need to hold in check the forces of individualism
being submerged by the sorts of change that were going on by the
early nineteenth century. Still a very good guide to the overall
ideological currents in the Regency period is R. W. Harris,
Romanticism and the Social Order 1780-1830 (London, 1969).

    3. Wider political issues impinged sharply on the
establishment. The way old moderatism was challenged by the new

forces is discussed in J. B. Morrell, "The Leslie Affair", *SHR*, liv (1975) and I. D. Clark, "The Leslie Controversy, 1805", *RSCHS*, xiv (1963). The effects of the new political and religious pluralism were traced by I. A. Muirhead in two seminal articles, "Catholic Emancipation: Scottish Reactions in 1829" and "Catholic Emancipation in Scotland: The Debate and The Aftermath", in *IR*, xxiv (1973). Two books which cover partially the expansion of Roman Catholicism in this period are C. Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789-1829* (Edinburgh, 1983) and P. F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland* (Montrose, 1970). These general accounts have an east-coast view that sometimes finds it difficult to come to terms with the sort of society that was emerging in the west; but some of the new perspectives on how Roman Catholics adapted to change are available in J. McCaffrey, "The Stewardship of Resources: Financial Strategies of Roman Catholics in the Glasgow District, 1800-1870" in *The Church and Wealth* (*Studies in Church History*, 24), edd. W. J. Sheils and D. Wood (Oxford, 1987), B. Aspinwall, "The Second Spring and the Formation of the Catholic Community in the West of Scotland", *Clergy Review*, 61 (1981) and J. M. Lawlor, "Benefactors of the Early Glasgow Mission: 1793 and 1797", *IR*, xxxv (1984). J. McCaffrey, "Irish Immigrants and Radical Movements in the West of Scotland in the Early Nineteenth Century", *IR*, xxxix (1988) shows that religion and nationality were important in establishing political attitudes in Scotland before the watershed of the Famine. Also relevant here are A. MacWilliam, "The Glasgow Mission, 1792-1799", *IR*, iv (1953), D. McRoberts, "Catholicity in Glasgow Thirty Years Ago", *IR*, xiv (1963) and A. S. MacWilliam, "Catholic Dundee: 1787-1836", *IR*, xviii (1967). There is useful social data in A. Roberts, "Catholic Baptismal Registers in the City of Aberdeen, 1782-1876", *IR*, xxxi (1980). Overall population shifts using statistical data in an illuminating way make J. Darragh, "The Catholic population of Scotland since the year 1680", *IR*, iv (1953) the essential guide here.

4. There is less guidance as to what was happening for the Episcopalians but F. Goldie, *A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland* (revised edn. Edinburgh, 1976) gives a good overall introduction taken with M. Lochhead, *Episcopal Scotland in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1966) and W. Perry, *The Oxford Movement in Scotland* (London, 1933). R. Foskett, "The Episcopate of Daniel Sandford 1806-30", *RSCHS*, xv (1966) and G. White, "New Names for Old Things: Scottish Reactions to early Tractarianism", in *Renaissance and Renewal in Church History* (*Studies in Church History*, 14), ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1977) in their different ways show why Episcopalianism was growing not only in numbers but as a result of new theological currents

sweeping Britain. B. M. Thatcher, "The Episcopal Church in Helensburgh in the Mid-Nineteenth Century", in *Scottish Themes*, edd. J. Butt and J. T. Ward (Edinburgh, 1976) is a case-study in its growth in a new lowland urban setting, contrasting it with St Andrew-by-the-Green's experience in inner-city Glasgow. For Methodism, see W. R. Ward, "Scottish Methodism in the age of Jabez Bunting", *RSCHS*, xx (1978), the section by A. S. Wood in vol. 3 of *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, edd. R. Davies, A. R. George, G. Rupp, 4 vols. (London, 1965, 1978, 1983, 1988), and A. J. Hayes and D. A. Gowland, *Scottish Methodism in the early Victorian period. The Scottish Correspondence of Rev. Jabez Bunting 1800-57* (Edinburgh, 1981). G. Rowell, "The Origins and History of Universalist Societies in Britain, 1750-1850", *JEH*, xxii (1971) shows the concordance between Universalist ideas and radical politics, a theme first examined systematically (as with so much else in modern Scottish history) by W. H. Marwick, "Social Heretics in Scottish Churches", *RSCHS*, xi (1955). The widespread influence exerted by the Haldanes is included in T. Sturt, "Geneva and British Evangelicals in the early Nineteenth Century", *JEH*, xxxii (1981). Further material on independency is in A. MacWhirter, "The Early Days of Independentism and Congregationalism in the Northern Islands of Scotland", *RSCHS*, xvi (1969) and on the Unitarians in A. MacWhirter, "Unitarianism in Scotland", *RSCHS*, xiii (1959). Though small in numbers the Friends have made important contributions to Scottish public life since the early nineteenth century for which see W. H. Marwick, "Studies in Scottish Quakerism", *RSCHS*, xvi (1969) and "Friends in nineteenth century Scotland", *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, xlvi (1954). For the Baptists, there is D. B. Murray, *The First Hundred Years: The Baptist Union of Scotland* (?Glasgow, 1969) and more recently, bringing the picture right up to date in their Scottish context, there is a series of essays *The Baptists in Scotland. A History*, ed. D. W. Bebbington (Glasgow, 1988).

5. One churchman's career reflects so many aspects of the early nineteenth century as to merit individual mention. S. J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth* (Oxford, 1982) provides up-to-date full-length analysis noting the failures as well as the triumphs of his public career. An idea of the complexities of his personality and why he could make such an impression on his times comes over well in *The Practical and the Pious. Essays on Thomas Chalmers 1780-1847*, ed. A. C. Cheyne (Edinburgh, 1985). The social welfare system that for good or ill he did so much to influence can be traced for this period in R. A. Cage, *The Scottish Poor Law 1745-1845* (Edinburgh, 1981) and in particular in two essays by R. M. Mitchison, "The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law", *Past and Present*, 63 (1974) and "The

Creation of the Disablement Rule in the Scottish Poor Law'', in *The Search for Wealth and Stability*, ed. T. C. Smout (London, 1974). The financial viability of Chalmers' own schemes is examined and found wanting in R. A. Cage and E. O. A. Checkland, ''Thomas Chalmers and Urban Poverty: The St John's Experiment 1819-1837'', *Philosophical Journal (Glasgow)*, 13 (1976), and S. J. Brown, ''The Disruption and Urban Poverty: Thomas Chalmers and the West Port Operation in Edinburgh 1844-1847'', *RSCHS*, xx (1978). A more general assessment of his social philosophy with its blend of both radicalism and conservatism is given in J. F. McCaffrey, ''Thomas Chalmers and Social Change'', *SHR*, lx (1981). There is a handy profile of his major opponent in J. H. F. Brotherston, ''William Pulteney Alison, Scottish pioneer of Social Medicine'', *The Medical Officer* (June 1958), while the lessening of direct ecclesiastical influence in social administration is traceable in A. Paterson, ''The Poor Law in Nineteenth-Century Scotland'', *The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. D. Fraser (London, 1976).

6. The effort to adjust to these public issues resulted in the Disruption. For the way the wind was blowing among politicians in judging Scottish issues at this time see G. Davies and L. A. Ritchie, ''Dr. Chalmers and the University of Glasgow'', and I. F. Maciver, ''The Election of Thomas Chalmers to the Chair of Divinity at Edinburgh University'', both in *RSCHS*, xx (1980) and G. I. T. Machin, ''The Disruption and British Politics, 1834-43'', *SHR*, li (1972). Comparisons between events surrounding 1843 and government handling of ecclesiastical issues in England can be explored further in G. I. T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832 to 1868* (Oxford, 1977). There is no single modern study of the Disruption and the whole imbroglio should be approached via the first two volumes of Drummond and Bulloch and in Brown's biography of Chalmers (cited above). A short, older work that still manages to say a great deal is G. D. Henderson, *Heritage. A Study of the Disruption* (Edinburgh, 1943). F. Lyall, *Of Presbyters and Kings: Church and State in the Law of Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1980) is the nearest approach to a modern, substantial treatment of what was a major turning-point in the history of the Scottish people in the nineteenth century, concentrating particularly on clarification of the legal and constitutional aspects. How much these latter were determined by political partiality and a ''parti-pris'' reading of history becomes clear in a very important essay by I. F. Maciver, ''Cockburn and the Church'', in *Lord Cockburn A Bicentenary Commemoration*, ed. A. Bell (Edinburgh, 1979) and in the detailed essay by I. A. Muirhead, ''Chalmers and the Politicians'', in *The Practical and the Pious* (cited above). The formation of Chalmers' political attitudes can be traced in D. Shaw, ''The Moderatorship

Controversy in 1831 and 1837'', *RSCHS*, xvii (1972) and I. F. Maciver, ''Chalmers as a 'Manager' of the Church, 1831-40'', also in *The Practical and the Pious*.

The Middle Years of the Century to the 1880s:
1. One of the consequences of the Disruption was to emphasize the centrality of religious issues in the public life of Victorian Scotland. Much of this has been given its due weight in two recent political histories: I. G. C. Hutchison, *A Political History of Scotland 1832-1924* (Edinburgh, 1986) a detailed account of the development of party politics and M. Fry, *Patronage and Principle. A Political History of Modern Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1987). Both of these show the reality of a continuing political tradition in Scotland shaped by just such religious, cultural and social realities as lay behind the Ten Years' Conflict. The refusal by landowners of sites for the rival establishment created the sort of sharp social and political conflicts that were also occurring for different reasons in the towns. A good case-study here is L. A. Ritchie, ''The Floating Church of Loch Sunart'', *RSCHS*, xxii (1985) while the geography of the new denominationalism is set out by J. R. McKay (Jnr), ''The Disruption: an examination of some statistics'', *Philosophical Journal (Glasgow)*, 6 (1969). The strong religious influences which lay behind contemporary arguments over political authority are touched on in K. J. Cameron, ''William Weir and the origins of the 'Manchester League' in Scotland 1833-39'', *SHR*, lviii (1979) and F. M. Montgomery, ''The Anti-Corn Law League in Glasgow'', *History*, 64 (1979). Popular political attitudes and their ethical basis also find a place in N. Murray, *The Scottish Hand-Loom Weavers 1790-1850* (Edinburgh, 1978) and A. Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland* (Manchester, 1970) and in articles like S. D. McCalman, ''Chartism in Aberdeen'', *Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society*, 2 (1970) and R. E. Duncan, ''Chartism and working-class allegiance in Aberdeen 1838-42'', *Northern Scotland*, 4 (1981).
    2. The cultural effects on Highland society are explored in J. Hunter, ''The emergence of the crofting community; the religious contribution 1795-1843'', *Scottish Studies*, 18 (1974) and more generally in his *The Making of the Crofting Community* (Edinburgh, 1976). Also relevant here are V. E. Durkacz, *The Decline of the Celtic Languages* (Edinburgh, 1983) and C. W. J. Withers, *Gaelic in Scotland 1698-1981* (Edinburgh, 1984), while a reference work always worth dipping into is *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, ed. D. S. Thomson (Oxford, 1983). T. Devine, *The Great Highland Famine* (Edinburgh, 1988) pulls much of the story of the mid- and later nineteenth-century Highlands together with a wealth of statistical tables and discusses the links forged through church-inspired Relief Boards in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

In what was often a sectarian age, it is good to be reminded of the rich beauty of highland devotional life by J. MacInnes, "Gaelic Religious Poetry 1650-1850", *RSCHS*, x (1950). A most interesting account of life before the Industrial Revolution in a Catholic area of the eastern Highlands is M. Dilworth, "Catholic Glencairn in the Early Nineteenth Century", *IR*, vii (1956). The fluctuating nature of the times as shown in the balance having to be struck as between Highland and Lowland interests comes over in R. Macdonald, "Bishop Scott in the West Highlands", *IR*, xvii (1966).

3. The religious readjustments of the middle nineteenth century had sprung from changing perceptions of the world which also challenged existing theological formulations. The overall picture is given in a reprint of an 1881 work still relevant for its sharp insights into these contemporary trends, John Tulloch, *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain During the Nineteenth Century* (Leicester, 1971), with a very useful introduction by A. C. Cheyne. The influence of Thomas Erskine in directing these new currents is assessed by S. Gowler, "No Second-hand Religion: Thomas Erskine's Critique of Religious Authorities", *Church History*, 54 (1985) and D. Finlayson, "Aspects of the Life and Influence of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen 1788-1870", *RSCHS*, xx (1978). The struggle to break free of a too legalistic, restrictive Calvinism and what it cost can be traced in J. Macintyre, "John McLeod Campbell. Heretic and Saint", *RSCHS*, xiv (1963), in G. M. Tuttle, *So Rich A Soil, John McLeod Campbell on Christian Atonement* (Edinburgh, 1986) and Cheyne, *The Transforming of the Kirk* (cited above). The same theme is dealt with in C. Bell, *Calvin and Scottish Theology. The Doctrine of Assurance* (Edinburgh, 1985) and these works all show that men like McLeod Campbell were part of a wider movement trying to shift the emphasis away from Christ placating the Father to one where Christ revealed the Father to all. That this movement towards a more open theological outlook could develop within the orthodoxy represented by the Church of Scotland was demonstrated in a seminal essay by J. Roxborogh, "Chalmers' Theology of Mission", in *The Practical and the Pious*. Evangelical enthusiasms were also blurring old distinctions particularly between denominations and S. Piggin, "Sectarianism versus Ecumenism: the impact on British Churches of the missionary movement to India c. 1800-1860", *JEH*, xxvii (1976) and J. Wolffe, "The Evangelical Alliance in the 1840s. An Attempt to Institutionalise Christian Unity", in *Voluntary Religion* (*Studies in Church History*, 23), edd. W. J. Sheils and D. Wood (Oxford, 1986) examine different aspects of this.

4. Scientific advance could also be a solvent of old certainties and the Scottish penchant for popularizing it via natural theology can be examined in H. Macpherson, "Thomas Dick, 'The

Christian Philosopher' ", *RSCHS*, xi (1955) and similar attempts at adjustment between the phenomenal and the noumenal are traced by D. F. Rice in "An Attempt at Systematic Reconstruction in the Theology of Thomas Chalmers", *Church History*, 48 (1979) and in his "Natural Theology and Scottish Philosophy", *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 24 (1971). R. M. Young, "Malthus and the Evolutionists: The Common Context of Biological and Social Theory", *Past and Present*, 43 (1969) shows among other things that the Scottish combination of Common Sense Philosophy and Natural Theology made Darwinianism less of a shock than some have imagined it to be north of the border, a theme more fully developed in a selection of the same author's essays, *Darwin's Metaphor. Nature's Place in Victorian Culture* (Cambridge, 1985). M. Rust, "The Relationship between Science and Religion in Britain 1830-1870", *Church History*, 44 (1975) is also relevant. General bibliographical guidance on the impact of science is given in S. Eisen and B. V. Lightman, *Victorian Science and Religion. A Bibliography with Emphasis on Evolution, Belief, and Unbelief comprised of works published from c. 1950-1975* (Hamden, Conn, 1984). An interpretation of all these factors in a European context is O. Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1975).

Some probing of the intellectual currents of the time is attempted in G. Rosie, *Hugh Miller. Outrage and Order* (Edinburgh, ?1981). Donald Withrington [in *The History of Scottish Literature, volume 3, Nineteenth Century*, ed. D. Gifford (Aberdeen, 1988), p. 63] cites A. B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: critical enquiry and Canadian thought in the Victorian era* (Montreal, 1979) as the best account of Scottish thought in the nineteenth century. The volume I have found most helpful in this respect is J. D. Hoeveler, *James McCosh and the Scottish Intellectual Tradition* (Princeton, 1981) a fascinating account of a leading Scottish churchman's efforts to develop his country's open tradition of enquiry in the New World. A. Thomson, *Ferrier of St Andrews* (Edinburgh, 1985) assesses efforts to move beyond the Common Sense school in Scottish intellectual circles. Popularisations that could still regard economics as part of a cosmic order of redemption remained potent well into mid-century as Boyd Hilton makes clear in an important essay "Chalmers as Political Economist" in *The Practical and the Pious* (cited earlier) and at greater length in his *The Age of Atonement, the influence of evangelicalism on social and economic thought 1795-1865* (Oxford, 1988). A. M. C. Waterman, "The Ideological Alliance of Political Economy and Christian Theology 1798-1833", *JEH*, xxxiv (1983) also shows churchmen responding to economic trends and shaping them in turn.

5. Education was one area where religion was involved in

questions not only of cultural but of institutional adaptation too. The general survey by J. Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education*, 2 vols. (London, 1969) is worthwhile but cannot cover all aspects comprehensively and needs supplementing at various points. In one sphere that is indicative of ecclesiastical vitality in the nineteenth century, R. D. Anderson, *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland* (Oxford, 1983) sees a narrowing in the parochial system although, as has been pointed out earlier in this survey, D. J. Withrington in *People and Society 1760-1830* has shown that it should not be written off too early in the century. D. J. Withrington also assesses the prospects of reform from within in ''The Free Church Education Scheme, 1843-50'', *RSCHS*, xv (1966) and the undercurrents of conflicting state, popular and denominational rivalries in Britain as a whole were examined by J. T. Ward and J. H. Treble, ''Religion and Education in 1843: Reaction to the 'Factory Education Bill''', *JEH*, 20 (1969). The religious impulses behind urban education experiments are included in A. G. Ralston, ''The Development of Reformatory and Industrial Schools in Scotland 1832-1872'', *SESH*, 8 (1988) and in P. Mackie, ''The Foundation of the United Industrial School of Edinburgh: 'A Bold Experiment''', *IR*, xxxix (1988). Also relevant here are M. Skinnider, ''Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow, 1818-1918'', in *Studies in the History of Scottish Education 1872-1939*, ed. T. R. Bone (London, 1967), J. A. McGloin, ''Catholic Education in Ayr 1823-1918'', *IR*, xiii (1962) and T. A. Fitzpatrick, ''Catholic Education in Glasgow, Lanarkshire and South-West Scotland Before 1872'', *IR*, xxxvi (1985). The importance of religious factors before and after the 1872 Act are included in the valuable assessments of how reform came about given by J. D. Myers, B. Lenman and J. Stocks, and D. J. Withrington in *Scottish Educational Studies*, 4 (1972). The way the more secular administrative system gave a new lease of life to religious interest through school boards can be seen in J. M. Roxburgh, *The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919* (London, 1971), while R. D. Anderson, ''Scottish University Professors 1800-1939: Profile of an Elite'', *SESH*, 7 (1987) shows clerical influences living on in the Scottish universities even as they appeared to lessen inside the country's schools.

6. How the churches coped in general with the challenges of a society that became increasingly urbanised after the 1850s has long been the subject of debate. D. C. Smith, *Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest: Social Criticism in the Scottish Church 1830-1945* (New York, 1987) claims that the Church (those in control?) accepted the existing social order and was loth to voice concern about the human costs of modernisation as practised in nineteenth-century Scotland, but why prophets should emerge naturally from the ranks of official religion still remains a problem.

K. M. Boyd, *Scottish Church Attitudes to Sex, Marriage and the Family* (Edinburgh, 1980) also ranges widely as it reflects on the difficulties the main Presbyterian churches experienced in going from an idealised vision of cottar virtue to grappling with nineteenth-century economic reality and social crudities, but he lays more stress on acknowledging their rather jumbled attempts to regain some relevance through service. I. R. Carter, *Farm Life in northeast Scotland 1840-1914* (Edinburgh, 1979) although light on direct religious influences examines among other things the moral and material links in a region being transformed by the boom in agriculture. Among biographies still worth consulting for an insight into how these realities were seen and tackled then are A. H. Charteris, *Life of the Reverend James Robertson* (Edinburgh, 1863), A. Gordon, *The Life of Archibald Hamilton Charteris* (London, 1912) and D. Macleod, *Memoir of Norman Macleod*, 2 vols. (London, 1876) and there is some treatment, too, of nineteenth-century figures in R. S. Wright, *Fathers of the Kirk* (Oxford, 1960).

The cultural as well as the physical milieu in which churchmen had to operate for an increasing number of the population can be examined in the growing literature on town life such as G. Gordon and B. Dicks, *Scottish Urban History* (Aberdeen, 1983) or G. Gordon, *Perspectives on the Scottish City* (Aberdeen, 1985). How to reach out to all in an environment where denominations depended to a greater or lesser extent on the ability to pay for their own upkeep led to some conundrums which are clarified in C. G. Brown, "The Costs of Pew-Renting: Church Management, Church-going and social class in nineteenth-century Glasgow", *JEH*, xxxviii (1987). The specialisations increasingly adopted to reach beyond the already committed are explored in P. Hillis, "Education and Evangelisation, Presbyterian Missions in mid-nineteenth-century Glasgow", *SHR*, lxvi (1987), and there is an important article on how the search for security and individual salvation developed in an age fragmented by economic individualism by I. A. Muirhead, "The Revival as a Dimension of Scottish Church History", *RSCHS*, xx (1980). For general background on this see also R. Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: popular evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865* (Westport, Conn, 1978). The influences which a Bible-based outlook had on Scottish society are among the aspects dealt with in a wide-ranging set of essays, *The Bible in Scottish Life and Literature*, ed. D. F. Wright (Edinburgh, 1988).

7. While the growth of Roman Catholics showed the increasingly pluralistic and fragmented nature of Scottish society at this time, both in pastoral challenges and responses they shared more with the predominant Presbyterian culture than is often realised. An overview incorporating some of the newer perspectives

is J. F. McCaffrey, "Roman Catholics in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", *RSCHS*, xxi (1983). Important studies of Catholic growth and adaptation are B. Aspinwall, "The Formation of the Catholic Community in the West of Scotland", *IR*, xxxiii (1982) and "A Glasgow Pastoral Plan 1855-1860: Social and Spiritual Renewal", *IR*, xxxv (1984) and "David Urquhart, Robert Monteith and the Catholic Church", *IR*, xxxi (1980) which develop the still relevant and solid original work in this field by J. E. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland* (Cork, 1943) and *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork, 1947) and *The Navvy in Scotland* (Cork, 1970). For a comparative view of this context recourse might be had to studies like G. Connolly, "The Transubstantiation of Myth: Towards a New Popular History of Nineteenth-Century Catholicism in England", *JEH*, xxxv (1984) or E. R. Norman, *The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1984). Relevant for the roots of conflict and later absorption into industrial society are A. B. Campbell, *The Lanarkshire Miners, A Social History of their Trade Unions, 1775-1874* (Edinburgh, 1979) and B. Aspinwall, "Popery in Scotland: Image and Reality, 1820-1920", *RSCHS*, xxii (1986). T. Gallagher, *Glasgow. The Uneasy Peace* (Manchester, 1987) is more twentieth century in focus but is an important new view while *The Irish in the Victorian City*, edd. R. Swift and S. Gilley (Beckenham, 1985) contains essays on these themes by T. Gallagher, "A tale of Two Cities: Communal Strife in Glasgow and Liverpool before 1914", and B. Aspinwall and J. McCaffrey, "A Comparative View of the Irish in Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century".

8. These studies show that religion and politics and public life continued to intermingle at many levels despite the alienation from religion that was supposedly spreading at this period. Many of the everyday links between local administration, contemporary values and denominational allegiances can be glimpsed in local studies such as W. H. Marwick, "Municipal politics in Victorian Edinburgh", *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, xxxiii (1969) or F. McKichan, "A Burgh's Response to the Problems of Urban Growth; Stirling 1780-1880", *SHR*, lvii (1978) and in a most illuminating contemporary life, *Memoirs of Adam Black*, ed. A. Nicolson (Edinburgh, 1885).

The part played by religion in the rediscovery and writing of national history is put into overall context in M. Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1980) while some of the historical problems raised by the growing religious pluralism of nineteenth-century Scotland are explored in T. Duffy, "George A. Griffin: A Priest Among Antiquaries", *IR*, xxvii (1976) and J. N. Miner, "Joseph Robertson and the Scottish Middle Ages", *IR*, xxxii (1981). These tie-ups between religious values and expressions of nationalism, home and abroad, are fascinatingly traced in J.

Fyfe, "Scottish volunteers with Garibaldi". *SHR*, lvii (1978). The broader picture showing the intermixture of religion and identity is best approached through H. J. Hanham, "Mid-century Scottish Nationalism, Romantic and Radical", in *Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain: Essays in Honour of George Kitson Clark*, ed. R. Robson (London, 1967) and more fully in H. J. Hanham, *Scottish Nationalism* (London, 1969). There are three important essays on this theme by K. Robbins, B. Aspinwall and D. W. Bebbington respectively in *Religion and National Identity* (*Studies in Church History*, 18) ed. S. Mews (Oxford, 1982) and, in a refreshing and challenging survey, K. Robbins further explores how far religion is "British", or "Scottish" and "English" in *Nineteenth-Century Britain. Integration and Diversity* (Oxford, 1988). The effects of Scottish models on other countries can be seen in E. E. Eklund, "The Scottish Free Church and its Relation to Nineteenth-Century Swedish and Swedish-American Lutheranism", *Church History*, 51 (1982) and general links with Europe in A. L. Drummond, *The Kirk and the Continent* (Edinburgh, 1956). The very strong reciprocal traffic in ideas and personnel between Scotland and the United States is traced in a highly original and seminal work by B. Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia. Glasgow and the United States 1820-1920* (Aberdeen, 1984). This is important for showing how popular and pervasive religious values were in giving tone to a society vital and active at all levels, a necessary counterweight to the picture constructed largely from government Blue Books of a Scottish Population mainly passive, downtrodden and lacking in spirit. One of the major interests of the Scottish churches in the nineteenth century lay in evangelisation abroad in non-European areas and for guidance here see G. White, "Scottish Overseas Missions: A Select Critical Bibliography", *RSCHS*, xx (1980). Some of the two-way traffic that resulted from this intermingling of Scottish culture and overseas expansion was explored in a stimulating set of conference papers produced under the title *David Livingstone and Africa* (Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 1973). The rise of the popular press, too, brought serialised fiction within the grasp of the great bulk of the population and its importance in setting and reflecting popular ethical standards which clearly derived from a Christian base can be gauged in W. Donaldson, *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1986), yet another indication that there was a constituency wider than that reached by publications like Norman Macleod's *Good Words* and being influenced in some general way by a residual religious heritage. A good idea of the influence of the religious journalism of the period as expressed both directly in the *British Weekly* and indirectly in the cultivation of authors like S. R. Crockett and the Rev. John Watson ("Ian Maclaren") can be

gained from T. H. Darlow, *William Robertson Nicoll, Life and Letters* (London, 1925).

From the later Nineteenth Century to 1914:
1. Liturgical developments, more precise formulations of belief and activity, the quarrels arising therefrom were all pronounced features of this period. Belief, authority and worship were interconnected and a good place to start here is *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland*, edd. D. Forrester and D. Murray (Edinburgh, 1984). There is also an essay on this, J. M. Barkley, ''The renaissance of public worship in the church of Scotland 1865-1905'' in *Renaissance and Renewal in Church History* (*Studies in Church History*, 14), ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1977), while J. A. Lamb, ''Aid to public worship in Scotland 1800-1850'', *RSCHS*, xii (1959) shows there were earlier stirrings of such reassessments. Cheyne, *The Transforming of the Kirk* (cited above) should also be consulted as a very clear guide to the stages by which the main Presbyterian churches were thus affected. Interesting case studies illustrative of some of the ensuing tension are given by D. M. Murray in ''James Cooper and the East Church Case at Aberdeen 1882-3: The High Church Movement Vindicated'', *RSCHS*, xix (1977) and in ''The Barnhill Case 1901-1904: The Limits of Ritual in the Kirk'', *RSCHS*, xxii (1986). The evolution of doctrine has also been examined by A. C. Cheyne in ''The Westminster Standards: 'A Century of Reappraisal''', *RSCHS*, xiv (1963) and by *The Westminster Confession in the Church Today*, ed. A. I. C. Heron (Edinburgh, 1982). J. L. Speller, ''Alexander Nicoll and the Study of German Biblical Criticism in early nineteenth-century Oxford'', *JEH*, xxx (1979) shows that interest in textual and historical studies among Scotsmen was quite early but the full impact was reserved for the end of the century as is made clear by R. A. Riesen, in ''Higher Criticism in the Free Church Fathers'', *RSCHS*, xx (1979) and in his *Criticism and Faith in late Victorian Scotland. A. B. Davidson, William Robertson Smith and George Adam Smith* (London, 1985), a fuller examination of the strains and adjustments resulting from these later nineteenth-century attempts to reconcile faith and the new rationalism. A. P. F. Sell, *Defending and Declaring The Faith, Some Scottish Examples 1860-1920* (Exeter, 1987) is a valuable guide to other theologians like Rober Flint, A. B. Bruce and James Denney who laboured in the same vineyard.

2. Much of what lay behind this reordering, a rethinking of the position of the churches in modern society, also brought on the arguments over disestablishment and disendowment and so propelled ecclesiastical issues back into the political limelight. The many links between changes in theological outlook, social perceptions and public action are brought together lucidly in the

early background chapters of R. Sjölinder, *Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland 1907-1921, its background and development* (Edinburgh, ?1962). Some of the changes implied in taking this path are further examined in K. R. Ross, "The Union of 1900 and the Relation of Church and Creed in Scotland", *RSCHS*, xxiii (1988). The intertwining of church issues and electoral politics is covered generally in the political histories by I. G. C. Hutchison, *A Political History of Scotland* and M. Fry, *Patronage and Principle* (cited earlier) and G. I. T. Machin, *Politics and the churches in Great Britain, 1869 to 1921* (Oxford, 1987). How these matters appeared to contemporaries still comes over well in older biographies such as P. C. Simpson, *The Life of Principal Rainy*, 2 vols. (London, 1909) and A. R. MacEwen, *Life and Letters of John Cairns* (London, 1895). The most illuminating short guide to the nuances of disestablishment in Scottish politics is still J. G. Kellas, "The Liberal Party and the Scottish Church Disestablishment Crisis", *English Historical Review*, lxxxix (1964) and twentieth-century readers who need further persuasion as to its importance in causing fundamental political realignments can be referred to A. Simon, "Church Disestablishment as a Factor in the General Election of 1885", *Historical Journal*, xviii (1975). The pioneering work on this sort of sociological background to Victorian politics is H. Pelling, *A Social Geography of British Elections 1885-1910* (London, 1967) which recognised the importance of the Scottish dimension. A good local study showing how religion and politics interacted and prepared the ground for these ecclesiastical battle lines is P. Aitchison, "The Eyemouth Fish Tithe Dispute", *RSCHS*, xxiii (1988). J. F. McCaffrey, "The Origins of Liberal Unionism in the West of Scotland", *SHR*, l (1971) analyses how disestablishment and Irish Home Rule proposals furthered this process of political realignment. The rethinking of the churches' rôle in the public life of the nation is the subject of a wide-ranging and important article by D. J. Withrington, "The Churches in Scotland c. 1870-c. 1900: Towards a New Social Conscience?", *RSCHS*, xix (1977). The influence of the ethical and institutional context that nurtured much of the nascent political critique of this period is evident in studies such as G. M. Wilson, *Alexander McDonald Leader of the Miners* (Aberdeen, 1982) and F. Reid, *Keir Hardie The Making of a Socialist* (London, 1974). *Scottish Labour Leaders 1918-1939*, ed. W. Knox (Edinburgh, 1984) also shows that the Labour politicians who emerged in the twentieth century were more often influenced by the Bible than by Das Kapital and scientific determinism than is sometimes imagined. How specific such a link could be comes across clearly in A. Bogle, "James Barr B.D., M.P.", *RSCHS*, xxi (1982) and is brought out brilliantly in W. M. Walker's analysis of the political evolution of a whole region, *Juteopolis Dundee and its Textile Workers* (Edinburgh, 1979).

3. Social reform movements such as temperance often provided a bridge between ethics and religion and this is obvious from the influences examined in R. Q. Gray, *The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh* (Oxford, 1976) and in N. D. Denny, "Temperance and the Scottish Churches, 1870-1914", *RSCHS*, xxiii (1988). One attempt to find a link with youth that succeeded in Scotland is surveyed in J. Springhall, B. Fraser, M. Hoare, *Sure and Stedfast: a History of the Boys' Brigade, 1883 to 1983* (London, 1983). Historians have paid increasing attention to institutional, social and political developments among Roman Catholics. The best overall survey of these aspects are the essays published to mark the centenary of the restoration of the hierarchy in *IR*, xxix (1978), subsequently reissued as *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878-1978*, ed. D. McRoberts (Glasgow, 1979). An important part of Catholic community life is examined by B. Aspinwall, "The Welfare State within the State: The Saint Vincent de Paul Society in Glasgow, 1848-1920" in *Voluntary Religion* (*Studies in Church History*, 23), edd. W. J. Sheils and D. Wood (Oxford, 1986). The interaction of politics and society has also been examined by I. S. Wood, "Irish Immigrants and Scottish Radicalism, 1880-1900" in *Essays in Scottish Labour History*, ed. I. Macdougall (Edinburgh, 1978) and by W. M. Walker, "Irish Immigrants in Scotland: their priests, politics and parochial life", *Historical Journal*, xv (1972) and there is a study of a major figure by I. S. Wood, "John Wheatley, The Irish and the Labour Movement in Scotland", *IR*, xxxi (1980). Just how two-way the educational question was as between the Catholic community and wider Scottish society comes over clearly in Bro. Kenneth, "The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, in the Making", *IR*, xix (1968), a story further developed in J. H. Treble, "The Development of Roman Catholic Education in Scotland 1878-1978", *IR*, xxix (1978) and "The Working of the 1918 Education Act in Glasgow Archdiocese", *IR*, xxxi (1980), and some of the longer-term consequences in the twentieth century are discussed by T. A. Fitzpatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education in South-West Scotland Before 1972* (Aberdeen, 1986). Two studies, each indicative of different aspects of Roman Catholic cultural life in this period are D. McRoberts, "The Scottish Catholic Archives 1500-1978", *IR*, xxviii (1977) and O. D. Edwards, "Patrick MacGill and the Making of a Historical Source: with a Handlist of his Works", *IR*, xxxvii (1986). A useful study of episcopalian efforts in urban society is G. White, "Ideals in urban mission: episcopalians in twentieth-century Glasgow" in *The Church in Town and Countryside* (*Studies in Church History*, 16), ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1979).

4. Much of the religious history of this period is the tale of ordinary men and women whether regular churchgoers or not and an invaluable source, based mainly on oral recollection, of life in

the different regions and occupational groupings of Scotland at the turn of this century as experienced by highlander and lowlander as well as by assimilating groups of Irish, Italians, Lithuanians and Jews is *Odyssey. Voices from Scotland's Recent Past* (Edinburgh, 1980) and *Odyssey. The Second Collection* (Edinburgh, 1982) both collected and edited by B. Kay. Publications like these reflect the growing interest in local history and a *Scottish Local History Forum* has been in existence issuing its newsletter, *Scottish Local History*, since 1983. The Scottish Jews have been the subject of a number of recent local studies such as *A Scottish Shtetl Jewish Life in the Gorbals 1880-1974*, compiled by C. Hutt and H. Kaplan (Glasgow, 1979?), A. Levy, *The Origins of Scottish Jewry* (a Paper read before the Jewish Historical Society of England, Jan. 1958) and *Aspects of Scottish Jewry*, ed. K. Collins (Glasgow, 1987). The religious links of nineteenth-century commercial leaders have also received attention in the vignettes making up the *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography*, vol. 1, *The Staple Industries*, edd. A. Slaven and S. Checkland (Aberdeen, 1986). Two important general political and administrative surveys that reach back into this period and assess the impact of the churches and religious issues in Scottish life are J. G. Kellas, *Modern Scotland*, 2nd edn. (London, 1980) and the same author's *The Scottish Political System*, 3rd edn. (Cambridge, 1984). A. Muir's biography of *John White* (London, 1958) shows his subject trying to further the relevance of the churches by working for a pooling of ecclesiastical resources in the 1890s and then, after 1918, adapting this aim to ensure a church presence in the national plans to rehouse and remake the Scottish population. It is perhaps fitting to mention this book as an end-piece since it suggests that many of the issues that still concern us in this century have their origins in that long period of change between the French Revolution and the First World War which transformed life in Scotland.